

The Communist

All Power To The Workers!

Vol. I. No. 9

CHICAGO, ILL., NOVEMBER 29, 1919.

Five Cents

Long Live The Red International!



First Congress of The Third International, at Moscow, March 2-6, 1919.

THE UNITED STATES is not at war with Russia. The United States is not blockading Russia. Nor England. Nor France.

But there is war against Russia. There is blockade against the Russian people. Though this war and blockade seem about to collapse, thanks to the might of the Red Army.

It is the League of Nations—the Black International—that carries on this war and blockade. And in fact it is not against Russia. It is against the proletarian revolution—war and blockade against the Red International!

The same war and blockade were carried on against Communist Hungary. War was ordered by the Black International against Communist Munich, and against Communism wherever it asserts itself through Germany.

The same war goes on in a smaller way in every country of the world today: the armies, the police, the jails—all the powers of the capitalist world are turned against the Red International, even in its least manifestation of life.

LONG LIVE THE RED INTERNATIONAL!

late in the year 1847, in some out of the

way place in London, there was a meeting of a few political exiles from the continent. This little Communist League instructed two of its young members, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, to draw up a statement of the Communist principles. That document, issued early in 1848, is the most fateful, the most impelling, the most inspiring political writing in all history.

At the Moscow Congress of the Third International, during five days of March, 1919, were gathered thirty-three voting delegates representing nineteen nationalities. Other delegates were kept out by the cordon of armies assailing Russia. Since March, in one country after another, new parties have been formed on the principles laid down by that Congress. Such a party is the Communist Party of America, called into being on September first, 1919.

This Congress was held in the halls of what was two years before the highest citadel of the black forces of life repression. The delegates were not exiles; they were leaders of powerful organizations of enlightened workingmen—some of them the actual military leaders of a powerful Red Army, fighting victoriously against the Black International. The Congress was held in a country where the working class

is the ruling class, held in the Red capitol of the world!

"A SPECTRE IS HAUNTING EUROPE"—the spectre of Communism. All the powers of old Europe have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre; Pope and Czar, Metternich and Guizot, French Radicals and German police-spies." This is the opening sentence of the Manifesto of 1848. How little need be changed for the situation of today! Not only Europe, but also America, Asia, Australasia, Africa! No longer Czar, but now Democratic President! Now in the place of French Radicals, the Yellow Socialists of all countries!

A SPECTRE IS HAUNTING THE CAPITALIST WORLD—the spectre of the working class come to consciousness of power, the spectre of a working class resolved to conquer freedom from wage slavery, determined upon the annihilation of destructive Capitalism, inspired by taste of victory to carry everywhere the red flag, symbol of life triumphant!

DOWN WITH THE BLACK INTERNATIONAL!

LONG LIVE THE RED INTERNATIONAL!

ONWARD TO THE WORLD FEDERATED COMMUNIST REPUBLIC!

THE COMMUNIST

National Organ, Communist Party.

LOUIS C. FRAINA, Editor.
ISAAC EDW. FERGUSON, Acting Editor.

Published Weekly, and owned and controlled
by the Communist Party of America.

6 cents a copy, \$1.00 six months, \$2.00 a year.
Bundles, 10 or more, \$3.00 a copy.

Address all communications
1219 Blue Island Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Strike Strangulation

THE strikes are being choked to death. The steel workers are only supported as beggars are supported, by charities, by the alms of sympathetic workers. Technically speaking they are part of an organization of three million workers—an organization which could easily rally to itself other millions of workers. Actually it is a contest of the infant steel union against the powerful Steel Trust. With grim cynicism, Czar Gary measures past and prospective profits against time and the gnawing of hunger. There is passionate sympathy with the steel workers on the part of millions of workers. It finds no outlet in action. The A. F. of L. is a barrier against action.

The coal strike is likewise in the hands of the coal operators. The government gave them the upper hand by its court interference. The strike leaders came to their knees, and now the operators are using the process of stalling a settlement, deliberately calculating the break in the morale of an army without a guiding staff. All the settlement will ever amount to is a saving of the face of the Administration. The fundamentals of the strike will be shelved—until the miners find new modes of expressing their mass power, new leadership and a new determination.

It is not out of the question but that part of the miners, at least, will take matters into their own hands at once, developing independent organization out of the strike itself.

Few of the newspapers had the reserve to soft-pedal the howl of glee with which they greeted the surrender of the United Mine Worker officials. There will be a howl of another character when they see coming out of this a unionism equal to this kind of combat.

It will come. Even the African slave had his John Brown and Harper's ferry. And then his Lincoln.

The American miners are spending a few days above the ground. They will see the sunrise in the far East. They will watch its triumphant course. They will ask: If in Russia, why not here?

Strikes can be strangled, but not the mass life—not for too long a time.

Deportation

WITTY writers and cartoonists cannot get over their own witiness about aliens who oppose American Capitalism not wanting to go back to their own country—not by way of deportation at any rate.

Some of the Socialist editors are quite insistent that these aliens will go back voluntarily, if only passports are giving. That does not meet the issue.

The Communist Party is fighting deportation in the courts, regardless of whether the particular member wants to return to Europe or not. Nor is the Communist Party concerned about the legal precedents, about the "principles of American political

liberties." We understand well enough that these "principles" are definitely cut off by the class line; that there cannot be free speech, free assembly and unmolested residence for those who challenge the system of Capitalism with the revolutionary challenge of Communism.

But we yield nothing to the courts and the government. We make no agreements, no compromises. We fight every inch of the way, challenging the bourgeois forces in every use of their formal and informal powers, their institutionalized and their non-governmental powers. We raise no illusions about proletarian "rights" as against the power which it challenges unto death. But we make no servile obsequies. We fight, in the courts and outside, by every trick of the game, and by every strategy which we can invent.

Of course it is not worth our while to make an undue expenditure in meeting every petty attack, such as this attack by deportations. That is a matter of expediency. If we do not defend, the alternative is not to make bargains with the official representatives of the capitalist power. There are two other possibilities. One is to accept the penalties without challenging the process.

As to the penalties involved in the deportation cases, there is to consider what is summarized in *The Literary Digest* (November 22):

"The Government, according to the *New York Globe* is watching the Mexican and Canadian borders to prevent the escape of revolutionary leaders from the net that is closing about them. But many of these alien firebrands are Russians, and as the United States at present has no official relation with Russia the question of deportation presents difficulties. Says the *Globe*: 'There are two things the government can do, however. It may send the Reds to the Riga front and turn them loose, letting them find their way to the Bolsheviks as best they can. The other way is to take them to Siberia, by way of Vladivostok, and turn them over to Kolchak's forces to dispose of as they see fit.'"

Add to these "two things" the fact that the Department of Labor has recently jumped deportation bail from \$1,000 to \$10,000, and there is the uncanny sensation of deportation as another name for official murder. It is not only Russians who face this jeopardy, but in fact all the deportees to nations where there is actual or potential civil war—in the present stage of the class conflict, deportees to any country.

The Communist Party is warranted in making a considerable expenditure of money and effort against deportation.

If the technical defense fails, if there is no escape in law or fact, the second course becomes imperative—not to get caught. That does not mean a cessation of party activity, nor the least change of propaganda. It means to keep down the toll of victims by change of party methods of propaganda.

The point of principle is that we stand defiant so far as the charge is concerned. The strategy depends upon events.

Every activity of the government which exhibits its class character is an important item of our propaganda. There is nothing more glaring than deportation, which unmasks most effectually all the hypocrisies about American liberties, which sets up (with actual transfer of some of the spies) the Russian czaristic regime in the United States.

We must use deportation without letting it hurt our members more than is absolutely unavoidable.

Aliens

IN connection with the foregoing it is illuminating to consider the recent study by the National Geographic Society on immigration to the United States. This country has absorbed 33,000,000 aliens since we became a nation. The present makeup of the population is as follows:

Foreign born	14,500,000
Children of foreign born parents	14,000,000
One parent foreign born	6,500,000
Negroes	11,000,000
Native white	54,000,000
	100,000,000

Little over half the population is of native white ancestry. Even the President counts but one ancestor born in America.

The preponderant immigration since 1890 has been from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia and the Balkans. It is these immigrants who have been most backward about becoming citizens, because the opportunity and inducement has been least in their case. The earlier homesteading and English-speaking immigration quite naturally accepted naturalization as an advantage. The newer immigration was definitely destined for the heavy labor in the big factories, in the mills, mines and forests. Today this immigration constitutes the bulk of the labor in the basic industries.

The alien laborers of today only know the government as the class weapon of their exploiters, that is, the aliens who have not become hopelessly stupefied by their endless, hopeless labors. Citizenship means nothing to them. So far as they reckon its advantages, the odds are in favor of the old countries. Because their real allegiance is a class allegiance, and their real advantage is with the proletarian revolution.

Curiously enough—and not so curiously, either, when the underlying philosophy is considered,—this is the time chosen by the Socialist Party for a referendum compelling American citizenship as a condition of membership, that is, the acquisition of citizenship within the time of the naturalization law. This at a time when courts all over the country are denying citizenship to all suspected of Bolshevism, or anything akin to it,—when citizenship is denied miners in Pennsylvania for being on strike! One Kansas judge set aside a judgment for damages in favor of a plaintiff when it was learned that he was a member of the I. W. W., on the ground that a member of the I. W. W. had no standing before a court of law (shades of the Dred Scott decision again come to life!).

The Socialist Party means to fight the class struggle strictly within the capitalist rules of the game. The Communist Party does not. It means to develop the most effective methods of struggle possible for working class victory.

The Communist Party will urge citizenship upon aliens, when it has working class governmental advantages to offer, when it has working class freedom and democracy to offer—and it will not urge citizenship sooner.

And the Communist Party will welcome the help of aliens in its work of propaganda and organization, realizing the supreme importance of the foreign language agitation and education, without imposing any conditions upon party membership other than faithfulness to the Communist cause.

That the Socialist Party means by this step still further to purify its pure political action is obvious. It is preparing itself for its dastardly role of betrayal.

C. E. C. Resolution on Strike Situation.

THE outstanding feature of the class struggle in the United States at this moment is the large strikes which are convulsing industry. Out of this situation against the yellow, compromising, traitorous union officials.

These strikes and their developments reflect the acute stage of labor unrest now prevailing in the United States; and this unrest is in turn a direct result of the ever-increasing cost of living. With great outlet for export trade on account of the European shortage in foodstuffs, manufactured products and raw materials, there is no prospect of a lowering of prices. In fact, prices are still on the increase.

Also the currency conditions which enter into the high cost of living, arising out of the vast flotations of credits during the past five years, cannot be changed for a long time, if ever. The high cost of living has come to stay. Moreover, because of the process of dissolution through which European Capitalism is passing, there is no prospect of a quick economic recovery of society.

The workers, under pressure of the unbearably high cost of living, are engaged in strikes for higher wages which constantly assume larger dimensions. The United States has entered an era of great and prolonged strikes.

These strikes, because of the world conditions of capitalistic crisis, must necessarily assume a potentially revolutionary character. The capitalists of America are bound stubbornly to resist the wage demands in order to discourage strikes and especially to break the labor organizations. Under these conditions strikes are apt to be very bitter and protracted.

The government has no policy other than to use its resources of force to break the revolt of the workers. The policy of compromise with the American Federation of Labor, against the ten times as many unorganized workers, attempted through the Industrial Conference, failed primarily because of the determined stand of the Steel Trust against unionism of any kind. There is the suspicion that the officials can no longer hold their members in leash.

The action of the government in breaking the coal strike by use of war legislation and mandatory injunction indicates the policy that the state is to pursue in the coming industrial struggles. The setting up of martial law and military invasion as a means of intimidating the steel strike is another indication.

State participation in the industrial conflicts, with the imperialist policy of the government in the international arena, will make every large strike take on the character of a political strike, actually if not consciously.

In practically every important union of the A. F. of L., and in other unions, there is developing enormous dissatisfaction with the officials, flaring into open revolts. Of 70 strikes declared during recent months, 66 were without sanction of the officials and against their protest. The inevitable transformation of isolated economic strikes into general political strikes will make the trades union officials of the old type still more cautious in calling strikes. It will lead them to betray the strikes forced upon them by the rank and file. The revolts against these leaders will grow, and this is a tendency which must be utilized to the utmost by our party.

The high cost of living and the strikes for higher wages are developing proposals for the nationalization of certain industries. These proposals indicate a partial awakening of the American workers to the necessity for larger means and purposes in their struggle. The conception of the class struggle as a political struggle is developing among the workers in a concrete but as yet incomplete way. This development may become the issue of Labor Party parliamentary politics in the near future. The impulse behind this development is futility of the isolated economic strike to accomplish any substantial results; it is the task of the Communist Party to indicate that the strike is futile simply because it is isolated and purely economic, but that it becomes a strong weapon of struggle the moment it assumes the character of general political strike.

The concrete situation now existing is that over a million workers are on strike, without any fundamental action developing. The strikes are isolated, are being defeated peace-meal by the combined power of the capitalists and their government. If these strikes were united, if they had a common organization, direction and purpose, they would develop enormous strength and allow the workers to assume the offensive against the capitalists.

The Communist Party, therefore, issues this slogan to the workers: UNIFY THE STRIKES

This unification of the strikes cannot be accomplished through the A. F. of L., since the craft autonomy of A. F. of L. unions, together with their conservative purposes and leadership, prevents united militant action. It is necessary that the workers create means independent of the A. F. of L. in order to unify their strikes. The Communist Party shall encourage and assist, in every city where there are large strikes, the formation of Strike Councils, to assume general direction and control of the strikes, secure unity and common action, combining the organized and unorganized workers. Strikes being of inter-city and often national scope, local Strike Councils should form state and national Strike Councils, thereby providing the means and the organization to unify the strikes and break the power of the old Unions and their reactionary officials.

The Communist Party and the Communist workers must enter into the concrete strike situation with the purpose of developing a mass movement which will express increasing demands for working class power and weaken the class power of the capitalists. The actual conflict will itself determine the moment when that mass movement shall merge all of its economic and political demands into the revolutionary demand: **All power to the Workers!**—for the Communist reconstruction of society!

SPECIAL CABLE FROM OUR STOCKHOLM CORRESPONDENT.

Stockholm, November 21st:—Belligerents in Russia called December 15th at Warsaw. Fighting ceases November 25. Red military situation excellent. Soviet food situation better.

Chabrow

Stockholm Cablegram addressed to Comrade Carlson:—

Long Live Y. P. C. L.!

Samuelsson

Scandinavian Youth

November 17, 1919.

Supreme Court Leak on Wall Street

MONDAY is decision day in the United States Supreme Court. A case of decided interest had been before the court. It was that concerning ownership of 6,000 acres of oil lands in California patented by the Southern Pacific Company.

Wall street was confident the high court would uphold the lower courts, which had sustained the Southern Pacific and refused to entertain the government's contention that the company had obtained its patent by fraud. On this expectation Southern Pacific stock had been selling at a decided premium, for the lands are valued at a good many million dollars.

But one hour before the Supreme Court handed down its decision some persons in Wall street knew the court had overruled the lower courts. The stock was thrown on the market in enormous volume. One concern unloaded 10,000 shares. Southern Pacific dropped 7 points in a very short time.

Evidently there was a leak from the Supreme Court. There have been leaks before. Sometimes the august justices forget themselves, or seem to forget themselves, and advise counsel, in the strictest confidence, of the court's finding, and counsel, in the strictest confidence, advise persons interested in the stock market. Sometimes, possibly, some one around the court is bribed by a gambling person of Wall street. One of the notorious figures of the stock market is credited with having made a "killing" in this Southern Pacific leak.

Wherever or however the leak in this instance, the Supreme Court should bare it. If there was corruption of some one connected with the court, the unfaithful one should be cast out. If one of the justices inadvertently gave the "tip", he should acknowledge the fact and hereafter have the good sense to keep a still tongue.

It is not pleasant to have the Supreme Court of the United States mixed up in a Wall street scandal. The court is one thing that should not be soiled, even by suggestion.

There would be little difficulty in getting at the truth as to this "leak." The trading in S. P. in that hour before the decision was announced is recorded by the Stock Exchange. All the brokers can be called to court and made to reveal from whom the selling orders came and the persons who gave the orders can be made to disclose where they got their information as to the court's finding.

What a "killing" the clever crooks made may be imagined from the fact that 152,900 shares of S. P., ordinarily a none too active stock, were sold on Monday, and the bulk of this lot in the hour before the decision was announced officially.—Chicago Examiner.

Bourgeois Democracy and Proletarian Dictatorship

By N. Lenin

(Continued from last week.)

THE chief point which Socialists do not understand and which constitutes their shortsightedness in matters of theory, explains their dependence upon bourgeois prejudice, accounts for their political betrayal of the proletariat, is this, that in capitalist society, in the event of a sharpening of the class-struggle which is its foundation, there can be no middle way between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Dreams of a third possibility are but the reactionary lamentations of the petit bourgeois. The experiences of more than a century of evolution of bourgeois democracy and of the labor-movement in all advanced countries, and especially the experiences of the last five years, bear witness to this fact. The entire theory of political economy bears on this subject-matter; it is the whole content of Marxism, which demonstrates the necessity of a bourgeois dictatorship in every factory, the dictatorship which can be terminated only by the class which through the development of capitalism itself undergoes a constant development of its own, a growth in size, unification, and strength, namely, the class of the proletariat.

XIII.

The second theoretical and political error of the Socialists consists in the fact that they do not understand that forms of democracy have undergone inevitable changes in the course of thousands of years, beginning with their germs in antiquity and the succession of one ruling class upon another. In the republic of ancient Greece, in the city-states of the Middle Ages, in advanced capitalistic states, democracy has had a variety of forms and varying degrees of inclusiveness. It would be gross stupidity, indeed, to assume that the most profound revolution in the history of mankind, the first transfer of power from the hands of the minority, the exploiters, to the hands of the Majority, the exploited, can be accomplished within the structure of the old bourgeois parliamentary democracy, without great upheavals and the creation of new forms of democracy, new institutions, new conditions for their functioning, etc.

XIV

The dictatorship of the proletariat resembles the dictatorship of the other classes in that like every other dictatorship, it is called into being by the necessity of suppressing with force the resistance of the class that is losing its political power. The fundamental difference between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the other classes, the dictatorship of the mediaeval holders of great estates, of the bourgeoisie in all capitalist countries, consists in the fact that the dictatorship of the great landlords and of the bourgeoisie was a suppression by force of the resistance of the overwhelming majority of the population, i. e., the working masses. In contrast to this, the dictatorship of the proletariat is a suppression by force of the resistance of the exploiters, i. e., of the decided minority of the population—the great landlords and the capitalists.

From this it follows that, in general, the dictatorship of the proletariat must bring with it not only an inevitable alteration of democratic forms, and institutions, but such an alteration as will yield a hitherto unknown extension of the actual application of democracy among those who are enslaved by capitalism, among the working classes,

And, as a matter of fact, the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which has already been worked out in practice, i. e., the Soviet Government in Russia, the Räte-system in Germany, the Shop Stewards Committees and other analogous institutions in other countries, all these realize and signify for the working classes, i. e., for the overwhelming majority of the population, a practicable possibility of this sort for the achievement of democratic rights and privileges such as has never before existed in even approximately equal measure.

The nature of soviet-rule consists in the fact that the mass-organization of precisely those classes which have been oppressed by capital, i. e., the workers and the semi-proletariat (peasants who do not exploit the labor of others and who are compelled regularly to sell at least a part of their own labor power), constitute the permanent and only basis of the whole state-power. Precisely those masses, which even in the most democratic bourgeois republics have equal rights under the law, but as a matter of fact are prevented by a thousand means and devices from participation in the political life and from enjoyment of democratic rights and liberties, are now enlisted in a permanent, unconditioned, and decisive participation in the democratic rule of the state.

XV.

The equality of citizens without regard to sex, religion, race, nationality, which has always and everywhere been the promise of bourgeois democracy, but which has nowhere been fulfilled and could nowhere be fulfilled because of the domination of capital, has been realized suddenly and completely by the soviet government, since only the power of the workers, who have no interests at stake in private property, in the means of production, and in the struggle for their distribution and redistribution, can realize this ideal.

Bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism are so organized that it is precisely the working classes who have least to do with the administrative apparatus. The Soviet Power, i. e., the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the other hand, is so organized that it brings the working classes closer to the administrative apparatus. The same end is also served by the union of the legislative and executive functions in the soviet organization of the state, and by the replacement of geographical voting-districts by production-units, such as shops and factories.

XVII.

The army was an instrument of oppression not only under the monarchy; it retained this character in all the bourgeois republics, even in the most democratic. Only the Soviet Power, as the sole established state-organization of the classes oppressed by capital, is in a position to release the military from its subjection to bourgeois leadership, and to bring about a real identification of the army with the proletariat.

XVIII.

The soviet organization of the state is designed to place the leadership of the state in the hands of the proletariat as the class which has undergone the greatest concentration and enlightenment under Capitalism. The experiences of all revolutions and of

all movements of enslaved classes, the experiences of the international Socialist movement teach that only the proletariat is capable of carrying along and uniting the scattered and backward levels of the working and exploited population.

XIX.

Only the soviet organization of the state is capable of destroying suddenly and completely the bourgeois bureau-and-court machinery which remained intact, and had to remain intact, under Capitalism, even in the most democratic republics, since it developed into the greatest bulwark against the laboring classes in their attempt to realize democracy. The Paris Commune took the first world-historical step in this direction; the Soviet Power has taken the second.

XX.

All Socialists, and among them their leader, Marx, have set up as their goal the destruction of the power of the State. If this goal is not achieved, true democracy, i. e., equality and freedom, are not attainable. But the only practicable means to this goal is the soviet or proletarian democracy, for it sets out forthwith to prepare the complete atrophy of all State machinery by enlisting the mass-organizations of the working-people in permanent and unconditioned participation in the state-administration.

XXI.

The complete bankruptcy of the Socialists who assembled in Berne, the utter lack of comprehension of proletarian democracy which they revealed, is especially patent in the following. On February 10, 1919, Branting dismissed the conference of the Yellow International at Berne. On February 11, 1919, their colleagues in Berlin published in "Die Freiheit" an appeal to the proletariat by the Independents. In this appeal the bourgeois character of the Scheidemann government is admitted, it is accused of the intention of abolishing the "Räte" (soviets) which it designates as the "defenders and the agents of the revolution," and the proposition is advanced that the "Räte" be legitimized, entrusted with certain rights in the State.

A proposal of this sort indicates the complete spiritual bankruptcy of the theoreticians who defend democracy and do not understand its bourgeois character. The laughable attempt to combine the Räte-system, i. e., the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the National Assembly, i. e., the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, reveals conclusively the intellectual poverty of the yellow Socialists and Social-Democrats, and the reactionary policies of the petit bourgeois, as well as their cowardly concessions to the irresistibly increasing strength of the new proletarian democracy.

XXII.

The majority of the Yellow International at Berne, which condemned Bolshevism, but did not dare enter a formal vote on a resolution condemning Bolshevism, since it feared the working masses, behaved quite correctly from the class-viewpoint. This majority is completely in tune with the Russian Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries and with the Scheidemann-group in Germany. The Russian Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries who complain of Bolshevik persecution, take pains to conceal the fact that this

(Continued on page 8)

The Masses and The New Faith

Special Budapest Correspondent
Manchester Guardians.

A MIXED crowd of men, women, and children crowded the platform, and as they stood they sang. It was the first train to Budapest after Bela Kun's fall, the first for quite a long period. The city itself was still some few miles away, for the station belonged to one of those outer industrial suburbs that characterise those Central European capitals that are all factories and slums. Distant rifle shots and an occasional thud signalled the gradual approach of the dreaded Roumanians from the parent city, of which they were by then in occupation. Under the flickering lamps one could see the strained expression upon the faces of these poor working folk as they anxiously stood there and waited. There was no talk. All were singing. They sang with intense earnestness, and the chant was repeated again and again. It was the "Internationale." The passengers, leaning out of the windows, listened quietly and unsympathetically. They were exclusively business men returning to Budapest in the hope—how illusory events have shown—of retrieving their lost fortunes.

Heard in England the "Internationale" sounds strange and somewhat revolting with its banal melody and almost unintelligible sentiment. On the Continent of Europe in the year 1919 it catches the ear very differently. You recognise it as the "Marseillaise" of a tremendous and dangerous revolutionary movement that, unlike that of over a century ago, seems to know no frontiers and to be unconscious of nationalism. It becomes unpleasantly familiar, and—I can speak for myself—always brings a certain sensation of fear. I had heard it in the streets of Paris on the First of May, when masses of workmen in the Place de la République had "barked" it hoarsely and savagely into the faces of the Cuirassiers; in Berlin again and again, sometimes to the accompaniment of machine-gun fire; in Hamburg.

Here it had a pathetic note. It was, almost certainly, the last time it was to be sung in this unhappy country; it was, as it were, Bolshevism's swan-song. Behind us we had left the White Terror raging in its full fury. White Guard officers had raided our train up the line for Red fugitives. At Raab the hue and cry was still on. In front of us lay the occupied city. A few hours later even this last pool of Bolshevism was to be scorched dry.

The incident, slight as it is, has this importance. It testifies to the sincerity and strength of the Bolshevik—or whatever other word one cares to use—faith among these working masses. During the next few weeks I had many opportunities of testing working-class feeling in Budapest. All the leaders were in prison or fugitives. Life was made hideous by the ceaseless and thorough search for arms and for suspects that went on day after day in the poor quarters of the town, by the tide of denunciation and espionage, by the fierceness of the Terror. You would suddenly find whole blocks of the town shut off by a cordon of Rumanian troops. Within the cordon no one was allowed to go out of doors, while a house-to-house search went on. Well-dressed Hungarian civilians or officers often accompanied the Rumanian search with lists in their hands. Issuing from the cordon, one would see groups of men being marched off. Occasionally a band of Red Guard soldiery would trail through the streets under heavy escort; simple boys, most of them,

who had accepted their conscription as passively under the Reds as they had done under the Hapsburg. No man felt himself safe. Even among the bourgeoisie that had hailed the fall of Bolshevism with delight there eventually entered the same fear. Denunciation was indiscriminate.

Amid this atmosphere of dread and suspicion men became afraid even to speak to you. I found it almost impossible, for example, to extract a statement from Mr. Peidl, the Socialist non-Bolshevik leader, whose short Prime-Ministership after the Communist collapse and splendid effort to rally all parties was brought to an abrupt end by the entry of our allies.

Yet throughout all this hard time the working class remained stalwart. They held aloof from the anti-Semitic fury. A Jew, of whatever class, was as safe in the working quarters as he would be in London, though for a Jew to enter the aristocratic "Burg" in Buda, where the Allied Missions had their headquarters and their soldiers, was to court death. Every effort was made to crush their spirit. First, their out-of-work pay was cut off. This was not a Bolshevik institution, but of much older standing. Nor was it cut off for purposes of economy. Then followed the devaluation at a stroke of their money; that is, the so-called "white" money in which their wages had been paid. The blue money of the Austro-Hungarian Bank was held exclusively by the rich and the peasantry. All the laws and regulations governing the hours and conditions of work were swept aside. Wages went down with a swoop. Instead of the equal rationing of food in a starving town, the little that came in went principally to the rich who could pay for it. In a short time the workers, moneyless, foodless, workless, and hopeless, would, as it was thought, be cowed enough to take their old place under the old discipline in the reopening factories that, of

course, had shut down on the collapse of the Soviets. Eventually the Rumanians spoiled this calculation and gave a final touch of catastrophe by gutting the factories of their plant.

I will give a piquant instance of the state of working-class mentality—even after the overthrow. "What do you think of Bolshevism?" I asked bluntly of a chief waiter at the Ritz, an efficient, deferential man who had served for years in one of the greatest London hotels. Most of the other guests, by the way, were English and American officers. The hotel was a part of the Mission headquarters. The answer was smoothly spoken, but just as blunt. "No doubt it was bad, sir. But I am a working man, and things were much better than now. Then I worked only eight hours a day and got good wages and time to live for myself. Now the proprietor has told us there is no limit of hours, and we must go on working so long as there is work to do; in practice, the whole day. Then I got as much to eat as other folks. Now I serve food to others that I cannot get myself." He added that he had not tasted meat for weeks and that his family was starving. Cynically regarded, the waiter's answer indicated a completely egoistic standpoint. It is a typical answer which almost any Hungarian worker gives. Short hours and high wages would seem at first to be their only standard. So with the workers of Berlin and Munich and every other city of Central Europe. Everywhere they are accused of lack of any will to work and of an immeasurable appetite for wages. Thus crudely stated, this charge is untrue. What has happened in fact throughout all these countries is a sort of servile rebellion, now definitely crushed in Hungary, but simmering elsewhere.

The mass psychology has undergone a vast transformation. It has lost its old allegiances and faith in authority, whether of masters or of Government. Freedom is its dominating motive; freedom to live, which means shorter hours and more leisure, and freedom to live a full life, which means wages enough to permit enjoyment of leisure. It may be egoism, but it has its good side. The worker is hardly conscious of any change of mentality. He believes in his right to freedom and a full life just as innocently and unself-consciously as he formerly accepted his relatively inferior human status. Nor can he understand any denial of this right. Such a mass psychosis is a far more formidable fact than the rise or fall of a Bolshevik Government. It is universal in Central and Eastern Europe. It is spreading westwards. Proletarian Governments may be crushed or fall by their own weight. But a mass psychology is not so easily dealt with. On the contrary, it has to be taken into account if social stability is to be regained.

The pathetic singing of the "Internationale" in the outer suburb of Pest that night was symptomatic. The working class of Hungary is faced with a choice. Out of factories there can be no work, and the workers will perish of hunger or they will drift away into the countryside or to Russia or Roumania. They were already being drafted off, partly by force, partly as indentured labor, when I left Budapest. But wherever they go they will carry their "Internationale," their new and simple ethic with them. Probably they will find it already in existence wherever they are likely to arrive. This is Bolshevism.



NICOLAI LENIN

A recent snapshot in the yard of the Kremlin

The Workers' Struggle Calls You, Comrades!

THE capitalist class of the United States is beginning to feel the upsurge of working class revolt against the continuance of the present system of exploitation and oppression. The first intimations that its power is threatened have aroused it to action and it is striking out, blindly, brutally, to defend its position of privilege, its profits and its industry.

This is the retaking of the attacks, raids and arrests for deportation and imprisonment which marked the celebration of the Second Anniversary of the Soviet Republic and which still continue. Fear has at last come into the minds of the rulers of society, fear that they may no longer be able to ride in easy luxury on the backs of the workers who toil and struggle and suffer under their oppression. So they are striking out ruthlessly. They hope to intimidate the workers. They hope by brutally attacking those who attend meetings, through arrests and deportations, to hold back the rising tide of working class revolt.

The attacks of the past few weeks have been particularly leveled at the Communist Party. Scores of Communist Party meeting places were raided. Large numbers of the party members were arrested. Various legal functionaries have declared the party an "illegal" organization—as if anything that seriously threatens the capitalist class is not always "illegal"!

This is a blow to our organization. It indicates that even this early in the history of our party the capitalist class senses the fact that this is the enemy which threatens. It is added proof that our principles and program are those which will bring victory to the working class.

Although our organization is less than three months old and the work of fully mobilizing its strength is not yet over, it is not gone down under this attack. Everywhere the comrades have rallied to their organization determined to continue the struggle at whatever cost. Not only have we not been beaten by the ruthless campaign against us, but the membership is growing by leaps and bounds that its answer is greater effort and sacrifice in the work of propaganda and organization to build a powerful Communist Party.

The Central Executive Committee of the party gave careful consideration to the existing situation at its recent meeting. The recommendations to the membership which follow are the result of its deliberation. Our efforts to contribute to the successful building of the party under the new conditions which face the organization.

Strengthen the Organization

The first task before us is to so strengthen our organization that it will be able to function in spite of all the repressive measures that may be used against us. We will maintain our position in the open and carry on our work where all may see as long as that is possible. We will not give up our open work.

When the slaughters of the ruling class are over, prepare for the blow which will be no longer be possible. In the present repressive measures are continued there is nothing left for us but to defend ourselves in the new conditions. We will not give up the fight; there is no power which the ruling class possesses that can permanently suppress our movement; we will merely adopt new methods of organization and propaganda which will place our organization beyond the reach of the ruling

Proclamation to the Party Membership by the Central Executive Committee.

class and its instruments of oppression. The plan of work approved by the Central Executive Committee can be adapted to both the conditions of open propaganda and the reverse, if that becomes necessary. It has already been successfully used in those places where the action of the ruling class has made it necessary. The details will be placed before every branch within the next few weeks.

The period of adjustment to new conditions will be a difficult one. It will be hard at once to adapt ourselves to the situation we face. In order that we may master our new problems as quickly as possible, we ask every party member that he co-operate to the fullest extent with the party officials and take up the task allotted to him in that earnest and serious spirit that will bring success.

Communist Party Shop Branches

The shops are the centres of activity of the Communist Party. The workers in the shops are most easily reached with our message and convinced of the soundness of our principles. Our program of action has its basis in the shops. It is there that we can lay the foundation upon which we can erect the structure of a powerful organization.

The workers in the shops come together daily. They are in constant contact and communication with each other. It is in the shops, therefore, that they can be most easily bound together for united action.

The shops do not only unite the workers physically, but it is there that their interests are one and there they will most readily act together.

The party program is definite in the statement that the great industrial struggles are the most important factors in the party campaigns. The party has also declared its purpose to propagandize for the establishment of the One Big Union in industry. To carry on this work it must be deeply rooted in the shops. It must have the means for continuous and aggressive propaganda there.

Because of these considerations the Central Executive Committee urges immediate action by all party units to establish Communist Party Shop Branches. The present members of the party branches should become the nucleus for the organization of shop branches. The place of employment of each member should be ascertained. Where several members are employed in the same shop they should be constituted a committee to build up a Shop Branch. If sufficient members are employed in one place they should immediately constitute themselves a Shop Branch.

The advantage of Shop Branches is readily apparent. The members of such branches are in daily contact with each other. They can discuss the problems of organization, pay dues, raise funds, make plans for agitation work and register their decisions on party problems without exposing themselves to any danger. The Shop Branch is proof against the ruling class measures of suppression.

Each Shop Branch should be a centre of agitation. Leaflets dealing with the struggle of the workers, which are being issued by the National Organization, should be

distributed regularly. Books and pamphlets and the party papers and magazines should be sold. The work of the Shop Branch is to carry on a campaign of agitation to acquaint the other workers in the shops with the fundamental Communist principles and for the organization of the industrial union, and to furnish the leadership in the time of action.

The work of creating Shop Branches is fundamental. We must take action at once to bring these organizations into existence.

Leaflet Distribution.

Events are developing quickly in the present world of capitalism. New crises appear with startling rapidity. The Steel Strike, the Miners Strike with its coercion by the Government, followed each other in quick succession. Another crisis in the threatened strike of the Railroad Workers is looming.

Each of these situations presents the opportunity for Communist agitation. It is precisely in these situations that the party must intervene. It must be in a position to present the Communist interpretation of events to the workers throughout the country on a few days notice.

To accomplish this the party administration has issued a series of leaflets. While these were successfully distributed, the old method of sending out circulars asking for orders and then printing and shipping the leaflets makes the party action drag. It causes delay and the crisis may pass before our message is in the hands of the workers.

The Central Executive Committee considers the distribution of leaflets the most effective form of agitation. It urges that those branches which thus far have not participated in this work immediately organize themselves for this form of propaganda. Our present organization is capable of distributing several million copies of each leaflet issued when properly organized for this work. We must mobilize our full power of action in this respect.

To avoid the delay and the drag on our action which results from the old method the Central Executive Committee urges that each party branch place a standing order for the quantity of leaflets it can distribute, just as orders are placed for bundles of papers and other periodicals. This plan will enable the National Organization to print the number of leaflets of each issue which the whole organization can handle and to ship them out as soon as they are ready, thus avoiding the delay which militates against the effectiveness of our propaganda. Leaflets will be issued at intervals of about two weeks.

The leaflets issued thus far speak for themselves. They are evidence that the party administration can be depended upon to furnish leaflets that meet the test of principle, simplicity of language, and yet are militant calls to action.

Blanks for standing orders for leaflets have been furnished by mail. Make this question a standing order of business at your next meeting and help to mobilize our entire organization strength for this work of propaganda.

The Party Growth

The party progress during the two months that the National Organization has been in existence has been indeed gratifying. The membership figures of approximately 50,000 shown by the convention credentials are being realized in dues payments. In addition

(Continued on page 7)

The Party Organization

C. E. Ruthenberg, Executive Secretary, 1219 Blue Island Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Organization and Defense

THE recent attack on the party organization through arrests and deportation proceedings threatens to make a heavy drain on the treasury of the party. The comrades who are the victims of the ruling class must be defended to the extent of our ability. They have the right to expect that the organization they served will stand behind them.

To meet the situation the Executive Council has decided to combine the Organization Fund with the Defense Fund and issue a call for contributions for these two purposes.

Many branches have already responded to the call for contributions for the Organization Fund. Other have not yet contributed. Whether branches have or have not contributed it is their duty to answer the call that is now being made.

Every comrade will contribute something to the Defense Fund if called upon. Where branches have funds in their treasury and they themselves have escaped the attack of the ruling class, they are urged to make contributions from these funds.

Subscription lists will be mailed to all party units within a few days. Place these in circulation in the branch and also secure the contributions of as many other workers as possible.

We started to raise an Organization Fund of \$25,000. Several thousand dollars have already been contributed for this purpose. For the combined purpose we should be able to raise the entire sum in a short time.

Let us show by our action that we can defend our own.

Organization News.

The English Branch of Williamsburg, N. Y., has applied for a charter.

The Dorchester, Mass. Scandinavian Branch has joined the party.

An Italian working class organization at Jersey City, N. J., which for many years maintained an independent position because there was no organization it could consistently join, has found in the Communist Party the organization which expresses its principles and has applied for a charter.

An Italian branch of the Communist Party has been organized in Chicago and has been granted a charter.

A Greek Communist branch is also being formed, made up of the most active members of the former S. P. branch.

In this connection it is amusing to note the claim of the C. L. P. that the Greek comrades chose the C. L. P. after a debate between Katterfeld and Ferguson. When the discussion at this particular meeting was over, the chairman asked those who understood English to raise their hands. Five members responded, the meeting consisting of less than twenty. Evidently at a subsequent meeting, Comrade Hassan, organizer of the branch and a C. L. P.-ite, obtained a majority of one, whereupon the Communist members proceeded to the organization of a new Greek branch.

Charter applications from Federation branches are still coming into the party headquarters in bunches. The thousand mark in the number of charters issued will soon be in sight.

Another S. L. P. Branch Joins.

The Lettish Socialist Labor Party Branch of Philadelphia, at a meeting held Nov. 13, voted to sever its connections with that party and to join the Philadelphia Lettish Communist Branch in a body.

This is the second S. L. P. branch which has broken away from that organization to join the Communist Party, the first being the Mount Olive, Ill., South Slavic Branch.

The Philadelphia Lettish Branch at the same time that the vote was taken appropriated \$50.00 of its funds as a contribution to the Organization Fund of the Communist Party.

Pamphlet No. 3.

Pamphlet No. 3 issued by the Communist Party is now on the press. It contains the report of a debate between I. E. Ferguson and Harold Lerrl Varney on the subject: Resolved, That the Communist Party offers a more complete program for the emancipation of the working class than the I. W. W. The debate was conducted in a spirit of friendship and effort to develop the position which the I. W. W. and Communist Party occupy in the struggle for the emancipation of the workers. This pamphlet will undoubtedly

PAMPHLET NO. 2 NOW READY.

By KARL RADEK

"The Development of Socialism from Science to Action."

The development of Socialism from utopianism to science has been presented in the writings of the men who formulated the principles of Scientific Socialism. The Russian Revolution developed these theories on the field of action. Karl Radek is one of the foremost men in the Communist Movement of Russia. It was he who represented the Bolsheviks in Germany during the uprising of the Spartacists. This pamphlet by Radek will hold a place equal to Engels' "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific."

Prices:

Single copies.....	\$.10
25 copies.....	2.00
50 copies.....	3.50
100 copies.....	6.00

have a large circulation as it covers a subject in regard to which there is a great deal of interest. Prices will be announced next week.

Literature Bulletin No. 1.

The party has issued a literature bulletin in which is listed the literature which the organization is handling at the present time. In addition to this information there is a suggestion how to organize a branch for the work of selling literature. If you do not receive a copy write for it.

Proclamation of C. E. C.

(Continued from page 6)

to the Hungarian, Lettish, Lithuanian, Polish, Russian, South Slavic, Estonian and Ukrainian Federations, strong Jewish and German Federations have been created. A nucleus of Italian and Scandinavian branches are already in the party. The work of organizing the Finnish Communist elements is just beginning. The American branches in all the large industrial centres of the country have joined our organization, and as the test of action is disclosing the character of our organization, smaller branches throughout the country are gradually coming into the organization.

The organization has proven by its actions that it not only has power, but that it is ready to use its power by intervening in the struggles of the workers and giving them Communist meaning and purpose. Our organization is not a mutual admiration society of hair-splitting theoreticians, but a militant fighting organization that finds its place and work in the heart of the everyday struggles of the workers. We have laid a sound theoretical basis for our party. Now we carry out the theories into action.

Let us fulfill the promise of this beginning.

Let us each give the best we have to give to the building of our unit of the Communist International!

On with the struggle! ON TO VICTORY!

Leaflets

Several hundred thousand more of the leaflets are on the press, due to the flooding in of reorders, particularly "Your Shop" and "Break the Blockade".

FIRST ISSUE

"The Communist International"

Critical and Scientific Magazine of the Communist Party of America. Ninety-six pages of special articles and editorials.

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CHICAGO.

The Revolutionary Movement in Roumania

MANY will remember the tragic results of the peasant revolution in Roumania in 1907. The "hero" who suppressed that revolt was the well-known blood-hound Bratianu. The great business politician Take Jonescu, then at the head of the government, had not the courage to proceed against the revolutionaries; he transferred the power to Bratianu, who, with King Carl, was responsible for the slaughter of eleven thousand peasants. King Carl is dead, but Bratianu still lives and holds power, and is the foremost terrorist and enemy of Socialists in Roumania.

Until 1917 there was an orderly Socialist movement with the weekly organ "Roumania Muncitoare", published in Bucharest. But since 1907, after the oppression of the Socialists by Bratianu, mentioned above the entire movement changed its form, but became much stronger. All the world knows how many times our comrades of Roumania were driven out of the country, but the number of arrests and the chicanery will never be known.

Then the World War came. With all their power our comrades opposed the criminal war. For two years (1914-1916) our comrades fell as victims of the heroic struggle against the bloody imperialistic game. All in vain. The dark days did not spare the Roumanian proletariat.

The 15th of August 1916 stands out as a day of terror in the memory of the Roumanian proletariat. On that day the Roumanian battalions marched into Erdely, where they were met by the Germans, and in a short time, practically exterminated. The frightened Roumanian oligarchy, with King Ferdinand and Bratianu, fled to Moldavia, while the Roumanian people were left in the trenches to starve and freeze. This horror and the terrible conditions in general were not sufficient—all our leading comrades were thrown into subterranean prisons as Socialist agitators. Many of them, Max Vesler among others, were shot as anti-militarists.

Comrade Rakovsky was dragged from prison to prison during the night time, in order to keep the place of imprisonment secret. The blood hound Bratianu declared that he would not be satisfied until he had purged the Roumanian people of Socialism. But to his astonishment his unparalleled persecution brought results exactly contrary to his expectations. In Russia the revolution broke out and the Roumanian oligarchy lost the ground from under their feet. The Russian revolution freed those of our comrades who were still alive, and many of them went to Russia. Comrade Rakovsky was among that number, and he is in Russia at present.

But German hegemony and militarism also came to an end in the Fall of 1918. Mackensen, with his hordes, left Bucharest. In order to free themselves from the power of Bratianu, our comrades took advantage of this propitious moment, to inaugurate an extensive propaganda among the oppressed masses. A daily paper, "Treasca Socialismului" (Long live Socialism) was issued. Millions of leaflets and manifestos were distributed. Bratianu apprehended the great danger; he realized the far-reaching influences of the Socialist propaganda; therefore before his return to Bucharest he organized a reactionary army, composed of Coyars and other elements unfit to fight at the front. This new army of

(From "Nova Ostina", the official organ of the South Slavic Communist Party, Zagreb, Croatia).

parasitic hordes fell upon the discontented masses who were demanding freedom. Armed to the teeth, they marched into Bucharest and succeeded, momentarily, in suppressing the will and the hope of the people. They closed all gathering places of the workers throughout the country, and the paper was immediately suppressed. This terrible regime aroused the workers of Bucharest and the surrounding towns. Preparations for a great mass demonstration were made to take place on December 13, 1918. But the reactionary hordes of Europe and the Roumanian counter-revolutionaries prepared to counteract the demonstrations.

At the very moment when the demonstrators entered the Calea Victoria (the main street of Bucharest) they were met by the "Elite" troops with a rain of bullets from mitrailleurs and machine guns. In a moment sixty dead and numberless wounded covered the ground. The Roumanian reaction had come out into the open. But notwithstanding this last atrocious crime of Bratianu, our comrades succeeded again in reviving their movement. Today a bitter life and death struggle persists in Roumania, and the bourgeoisie trembles like a decaying tree which is artificially propped up. The class war between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has been declared; no Roumanian considers a Magyar or Bulgarian worker his enemy; he recognizes as his only enemies the bourgeoisie, the reactionaries, and the hordes of Bratianu who brought the country to the verge of ruin, and for whose capitalistic-imperialistic ambition 600,000 people were sacrificed. Bratianu now tries to popularize the slogan "Roumania Mare" (Great Roumania), but very few are impressed by that sort of thing.

On December 13, 1918, the persecution of the leaders of the socialist movement was launched. On that day 65 of our comrades were sent to prison in Wacaresta (a penitentiary for criminals and murderers) and were kept in the same tiers with men afflicted with typhus and other infectious diseases—forced directly into the jaws of death. This, too, was done by order of Bratianu. More than half of the comrades died in that prison from typhus! among them the prominent champion of the Roumanian proletariat, Jovan Frimu. All of them were arrested "ad preventia" and kept incommunicado pending a final trial on charges of "sedition". After five months they had not yet been brought to trial.

Comrade Frimu died in May and was buried at night time by soldiers, and his family did not know what became of him.

Everything was undertaken to free our comrades and to have the dates set for a trial. Bratianu was at that time in Paris, occupied with forming the foundations for "Great Roumania," and no one else had any authority to act in the matter. This was the third crime of Bratianu, the crime of the bourgeoisie; the Roumanian proletariat swore to avenge these outrageous deeds.

Although weakened, the comrades at liberty did not rest a moment, but conducted an heroic campaign to re-open the workers' halls, and they began again to publish their daily paper "Socialismul", which is still being published today. The organizations

went "underground", but since December 13, 1918 they have become increasingly stronger. They are more powerful today than they were at any time during the ten years preceding the war. The struggle for freedom became proportionally intense and determined as the reaction grew. In February 1919, when the workers' halls were re-opened, the reaction resorted to stool-pigeons and agents-provocateurs. The most clever among them visited all the meetings of the workers. It was their role to provoke a premature rebellion, and often they shouted: "Down with Ferdinand," "Long live Leon Trotzky" etc.

After such prearranged provocations the gendarmes arrested the speakers and broke up the meetings. But soon the comrades became aware of these methods, and they adopted the necessary precautions against such interference, in order to forestall the plans of the reactionaries.

The Roumanian movement is now one of the soundest Marxian movements in Europe. Christian Socialists, Social-patriots, revisionists and traitors of proletarian interests are barred from the movement. The Second International is dead for the Roumanian proletariat, and no one mourns it. Because of the terrible persecution, the Roumanian comrades could not openly affiliate with the Third International, but they adhere to it unreservedly; with whole-hearted zeal they are striving for the dictatorship of the proletariat; and they stand ready, at any moment, to make any sacrifice for the realization of the stupendous aspirations toward which the International proletariat is striving.

Bourgeois Democracy and Proletarian Dictatorship.

(Continued from page 4)

persecution was the result of the participation of the Menshevik and of the Social-Revolutionaries in the civil war on the side of the bourgeoisie and against the proletariat. Much as in Germany, the Scheidemann party revealed its sympathy in the civil war for the bourgeoisie as against the proletariat.

It is therefore quite natural that the majority at the Berne Yellow International came out in condemnation of the Bolsheviks. This action was not, however, in the nature of a defense of "pure democracy" but rather in the nature of a self-defense of individuals who realize that in the civil war they stand with the bourgeoisie as against the proletariat.

* * *

On the basis of these theses and after due consideration of the reports of delegates from various countries the Congress of the Communist International proclaims the chief task of the Communist parties in those countries where the soviet-system has not yet been established as follows:

1. The enlightenment of the broad masses of workers with regard to the historical-political significance, and the practical necessity of the new proletarian democracy which must be established in place of bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism;
2. The propagation and creation of soviets in all branches of industry, in the army, the fleet, as well as among agricultural workers and small farmers, and
3. The gaining of a reliable, conscious, Communist majority within the soviets.